A

LETTER

FROM A

Loyal Member

OF THE

CHURCH of *ENGLAND*

TO A

Relenting Abdicator.

Why have the Nations ſo furiouſly raged, and the People imagined vain things?

The Kings of the Earth ſtood up, and the Rulers took counſel together, againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anointed. Pſal. 2. 1, 2.

LONDON,

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TO A

Relenting Abdicator.

SIR,

TO ſpeak never ſo much Senſe to Men poſſeſſed with Paſſion and Prejudice, is like whiſtling to the Wind, or forbidding the Sea to roar, when ſhe is in a Storm: Neither is it an eaſy matter to find out the Critical Seaſons, when Argument and Reaſon will be admitted of, and allowed to ſpeak; ſince we live in an Age, in which every Man is a Divine, a States-man and a Lawyer, to himſelf.

The Reflections on theſe Experimented Truths made me ſuſpend writing my Thoughts to you upon the late wonderful Revolution, knowing you to be carried away, like other Men, with a violent Torrent of Zeal for the Preſervation of Proteſtant Religion, and eſpecially of the Church of *England*, which you know is as dear to me as your ſelf.

But finding by ſome Diſcourſe I had with a Friend of yours, that you now own the Party you engaged with have gone ſo far beyond what they firſt pretended to; that you begin to conſider, Whether the condition we were in under King *James* were not leſs hazardous to

the Peace and Tranquillity of the People, leſs injurious to the Trade and Commerce of the Nation, leſs dangerous to the Church of *England* in particular, or more glorious to the Kingdom in general, than the State we now are in under this preſent Government; and that you begin to complain of ſome Mens Treachery: I cannot but hope that you are now in a Diſpoſition to hearken to the Words of Truth and Sobriety, whilſt I endeavour to clear theſe Particulars.

1. That King *James* really propoſed to himſelf thoſe Methods of Government, which he judged would beſt conduce to the happineſs of all his Subjects in general.
2. How by the ſubtle contrivance of ſome, now in the greateſt Authority; and the Ignorance or Treachery of others, who were admitted to his Councils, thoſe good Ends have been fruſtrated.
3. How much the condition of the Subject in reſpect of our Laws, Liberties and Properties, and particularly the Church of *England*, is now worſe than it was, or was ever like to have been under King *James*.

1. As to the Firſt, I preſume it will be granted by all, That no Qualifications were wanting in King *James*, that we Proteſtants could have wiſhed; who could have no other exception againſt him, than that he was of a Religion which we have ſo great a Prejudice againſt.

We admired his Care in preſerving us in Peace, when moſt part of *Europe* and *Aſia* were in continual War. Our Merchants found him as Zealous as he was Induſtrious to advance and improve their Trade. The whole Body of the Nation found their Eaſe, in that he husbanded his Revenue ſo that he never required a Tax from his People. No Prince had ever furniſhed his Magazines and Stores more plentifully, both for Sea and Land. He kept a good Correſpondence with all Neighbouring Princes and States; and by his Juſtice and Honour not only acquired to himſelf a good Reputation abroad, but to his People at home. He diſtributed his Revenue freely amongſt his Subjects. He was full of Compaſſion, even to his Enemies, when he found that Miſtakes or Miſrepreſentations had made them ſo, and not the Spirit of Oppoſition. His Aſſiduity in his Councils and Treaſury; his Delight in providing for his Army; the Sobriety of his Life; his Diſcountenancing Debauchery; his Stated Hours for diſpatch of Buſineſs; his Baſi-

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neſs of Acceſs; and the Condeſcentions of his Royal Soul to hear any Perſons Application, with many other Perſonal and Publick ſpirited Excellencies, were ſo well known, that few of his Enemies, when ſerious, dare deny them.

It muſt likewiſe be granted that to ſignalize his Reign, he had entertained a Principle, That a Liberty of Conſcience would not only be grateful to a great many of his Subjects, but the beſt Expedient to bring them to live in more Brotherly Love and Harmony: Having this Notion ſtill fixed in him, That the Peace and Tranquillity of a Kingdom is beſt preſerved, when the Subjects have no reſtraint upon them in the Modes of their Religious Worſhip; who can the better attend their Private and Secular Affairs, the Neceſſities of this Life, the Improvements of their Studies, Commerce, Trade, Divertiſements, and Lawful Recreations, without being galled with any Yoak that may make them Slaves to a Party in the Practice of their Religion, againſt the dictates of their Conſcience; or Suffering in their Liberties or Eſtates for the ſame, as long as they do nothing to diſturb the publick Peace.

His Majeſty in his great Wiſdom conceived this would prevent the pretentions of all ſuch, as in his Fathers time had brought theſe Kingdoms into ſo calamitous a Condition, for want, as they alledged, of the aforeſaid Liberty. He conceived likewiſe, that by the inviting Riches of his Country, and that Liberty and Eaſe, which all Subjects, even of the loweſt Rank, enjoy here in compariſon of what is had in other Countries, if Toleration of Religion were ſuperadded to thoſe Civil Freedoms, it would invite Foreigners to fix their Habitations here, which would be of no ſmall Advantage to us all, ſeeing the Glory, as well Strength of any Government conſiſts in the Number of the People.

Moreover, he was a Prince that look'd upon Hypocriſy as a Vice the moſt deteſtable; for which he had ſuch an innate Averſion, that his failure in King-craft is by moſt ſingly aſcribed to the want of that in himſelf, and the perfection of it in thoſe he had to deal with: And as he had given the World ſufficient proof, that he was a Man of Principles, in that no Intereſt upon Earth could ever make him diſown his God, but ſtedfaſtly adhered to that Religion he thought the beſt; ſo he judged it below the Dignity of his Royal Station to diſſemble with Man, believing that when his Subjects were under no conſtraint of Conſcience in their Religious Worſhip, they might in all the

the Affairs of this Life act, like him, without Hypocrisy or Dissimulation.

These I hope you will grant were noble Aims, and worthy of a Monarchs better Fate. But so it was, that this glorious Attempt of making all Parties live easy under his Government was that alone, which by the Malice and Misconstruction of his Enemies brought all these late Calamities upon himself and us. Though to give him his due, he chose all the easiest Methods, and used all the Caution and Moderation imaginable, to effect it; for being thoroughly convinced of the Reasonableness of the Thing in the point of Interest, and Well-fare of his People, he first consulted the Learned of the Law on the Matter, and finding many of the long Robe, who should know best the extent of his Prerogative and Supremacy, not only ready to countenance the Undertaking; but assuring him, that he had a Power of Dispensing with the Penalties of such Statutes as appeared against it. After he had tryed what Relief could be had from *Noli prosequi's*, and Directions to the Judges, Justices of the Peace, and the Archbishops Chancellors, not to molest Dissenters, he was at last advised to publish his Declaration of Indulgence to Dissenters of both kinds: And having obtained a Judgment in his Court of King's Bench, that he might make use of all his Subjects, notwithstanding the Penalties enjoyned by the Test-Act to exclude both Roman Catholicks and Protestant Dissenters; a Door was open for the admission of either of them to Places of Trust, Military or Civil, though we know he made but little use of it till Necessity compelled him to it.

The King being thus strengthened by the Opinion of his Judges, and crowded with Addresses from all parts of his Dominions, full of the most hyperbolical Expressions of their Acknowledgments of his Grace and Favour; no wonder if he were inwardly pleased that he had found out the best Expedient to make his People happy.

In his Declaration he had a Princely Regard to the Church of *England*, reserving to the Members of it their Rights, whatever Relaxation of Penalties he granted to others. So that in pursuit of his Promise he not only assured them of his Protection, as to their Worship; but of the sole Enjoyment of their Dignities, Offices and Benefices, thereto belonging: And whatever People may say, it is well known that no Persons but such were presented to any Benefices with Cure of Souls, Bishopricks, and other Ecclesiastical Dignities, belonging to the Hierarchy, to the last Day of the Administration of the Government here.

But

But I foreſee you will preſently urge, that the King begun early to withdraw his Protection from the Church-men of *England*, in ſuſpending the Biſhop of *London*, by preſenting Two Roman Catholicks to the Headſhips of Colleges, and by Mandates putting in Three or Four of them into Fellowſhips, and afterwards diſplacing Twenty five Fellows of *Magdalen* College and filling it with Roman Catholicks, and laſtly by impriſoning Seven eminent Biſhops.

Before I can ſo clearly anſwer this Objection, it will be neceſſary to give ſome Account of the impulſive Cauſes, which gave the Umbrages firſt, and augmented the Differences betwixt the King and the Church of *England*.

It is to be obſerved, that as ſoon as the King had publiſhed his Declaration of Indulgence, there preſently begun an inteſtine Ferment from the Emulation, which was rooted in the Minds of the Members of the Church of *England* and Diſſenters. The firſt concluded preſently that this was ſet on foot to ruin them; and the other, out of an exceſs and tranſport of Joy, that they were now manumitted from all Servility to the Church, begun to be Haughty and Supercilious. In this their Liberty, in what the King favoured the latter, in that he loſt the affections of the former; and the more zealous the Diſſenters appeared in magnifying and vindicating the King's Declaration, ſo much the more violently and ſedulouſly the Church of *England*-men were to oppoſe it. The Roman Catholicks alſo, finding the Church of *England* imbittered againſt them, bent their Endeavours not only to vindicate themſelves, but to recriminate their Adverſaries; and being perſuaded that the Proteſtant Diſſenters were now the more tractable Subjects, they indiſcreetly fell to court and careſs them, which was to lean upon a broken Reed, and diſcovered the ſlender Skill of ſome Politicians, who out of a vain Confidence that in conjunction with Diſſenters they had the moſt powerful Intereſt in the Nation, took no Care to addreſs themſelves to the Church of *England* for an amicable Compliance.

This was the State of Affairs; and what was done againſt any Member of the Church of *England* is to be aſcribed to the Struggle betwixt theſe Two for Maſtery; which though it occaſioned the King to make a promiſcuous Diſtribution of Places, Civil and Military, to Church of *England*-men and to Diſſenters of all kinds, yet that the overthrow of the Church of *England*, or eſpecially of Proteſtantiſm, was never deſigned, might, I think, be demonſtrated, not only from the King's ſo often ſolemnly declaring the contrary, but from the ſenſe he, and all

all Roman Catholicks, could not but have that the Converts to the Romiſh Religion were very few, and the Oppoſition to the taking off the Penal Laws and Teſt every Day ſtronger than other; and more eſpecially from down-right practice in Two particulars. The firſt was, the granting not only a ſafe Retreat, but a moſt liberal Contribution to the French Proteſtants, who fled from the Execution of that King's Penal Laws againſt them; and whoſe Numbers, by computation, almoſt equalled the King's Roman Catholick Subjects in *London*, the parts adjacent, and in the Army. Secondly, all People are now ſenſible, how few Roman Catholicks were in the King's Army; in which he would certainly have had a far greater Number had he ever deſigned to introduce the Roman Catholick Religion by the Subverſion of ours.

Anſwer. Having premiſed theſe things, I come to anſwer your Objection.

As to the Biſhop of *London*; it is manifeſt by his Actions in appearing ſo early for the Prince of *Orange*; in counſelling and accompanying the Princeſs of *Denmark*'s flight from *White-hall*, to countenance the Lords in the North, whilſt the Prince was advancing ſo faſt in the South; and by the whole Management of the Conſpiracy the Two laſt Years, which is now no longer a Secret; for which, and other Services, he hath had the Honour to ſet the Crown upon the New King's Head, who contributed ſo much to the Tearing it from his Fathers: I ſay, it is now manifeſt, from all theſe Matters of fact, that the King was but too merciful to him, who only eaſed him of the troubleſom part of his Office, but permitted him to enjoy the Revenues of his Biſhoprick, by which he was enabled to contribute ſo much to the Deſign of bringing in the Prince of *Orange*; which I ſuppoſe he now takes no ſmall Pride to own.

As to the Buſineſs of St. *Mary Magdalen* College; it is true, that by the Zeal of Mr. *Walker*, and ſome others, Mr. *Farmer* was propoſed to the King as a fit Man to be Preſident. The Roman Catholicks did not foreſee the ill Conſequence of that Matter, but others did, and reſolved to work their Ends out of it. For 'tis certain, that ſome Perſons, who promoted it, ſent Meſſages to ſome of the Senior Fellows to proceed to Election, notwithſtanding the King's Mandate; and One, who now in his Letter ſent to procure his Peace, pretends that he diſſwaded the King from the Proceeding, was certainly the moſt forward to bring that Affair to extremity, as appears by the Regiſter of that Commiſſion. And let him now ſay what he will, to

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fool People into a Belief that he was never Author of violent Counſels; yet I aſſure you, that I have heard one of his greateſt Confidents, and one that was perhaps more frequently with the King and his Lordſhip than any other Perſon, ſay, that his Lordſhip wanted ſome Phlegm in his Temper, being always for the Extreme and Severe part of Reſolution.

However it is well known that all the Rigour, that was uſed againſt thoſe Gentlemen, was occaſioned by their ſtiff Oppoſition to the King, to which they were encouraged by ſuch as thought thereby to worſt the King in that Matter, or in another of a higher Nature: For I know the Perſon, to whom the King with great Seriouſneſs ſaid, That if the Fellows had not proceeded to Election, but ſuſpended it till the Qualifications of Mr. *Farmer* had been enquired into, he would either have left them to their free Choice, or recommended ſome other, as he did the Biſhop of their Dioceſe, as ſoon as he had been ſatisfied of the Unfitneſs of Mr. *Farmer*. And if the Fellows would have admitted the Biſhop, asked the King's Pardon, and acknowledged themſelves wanting in their Duty, *&c.* there had not been above Two of them at moſt removed. And it is further apparent, that it was from after Counſels upon the Emergency, that Roman Catholicks were ſubſtituted in their Places.

As to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and his Six Suffragans; it is a great Truth, that not only the King, but many eminent Roman Catholicks ſaid, that when it was agreed on to have the Declaration read in the Churches, the ſole Deſign was, that all might be aſſured of the Grounds of it; and that though the King granted that Indulgence to the Diſſenters, yet in the firſt place he renewed his Promiſe of Protection to the Church of *England*, *&c.* Neither had they the leaſt Suſpicion, that it would have met with ſuch Oppoſition; otherwiſe the Cauſe ſhould never have been given, nor the Thing propoſed.

It is further to be conſidered, that the King's ill Reſentment of the Reverend Biſhops Actions was occaſioned by ſome unexpected Circumſtances in their tranſacting that Matter with him. The firſt was, that the King was not acquainted with any Deſign of theirs to Petition him to be excuſed from the Publication of it, till they came with it the Friday Night before it was to be publiſhed in the Churches in *London*: So that there ſeemed no ſmall Diſreſpect in giving his Majeſty no longer time to deliberate upon it. And had his Majeſty upon their Reaſons thought fit to give a Stop to it, they had ſo timed their Appli-

cation, that he had not due time to have ſignified his Pleaſure; which was not very decent Dealing with their Sovereign, nor ſuch as they would have allowed in any of their Officers or Servants in their own Affairs.

I know this Delay was excuſed by the ſtaying for one Biſhop's coming up from *Wales*, who was then ſuſpected to be a principle Inſtrument in thoſe Conſults, and is now one of the forwardeſt to own the preſent Power; which no way mitigates the Fault.

This did more affect the King than any Oppoſition he had hitherto met with; yet he was not haſty to proceed againſt them, though the great Perſon that preſented them to the King, the Diſſenters, as well as ſome Roman Catholicks, vehemently urged him to chaſtiſe this ſtubborn Boldneſs, as they called it, in them. At laſt it was reſolved the Matter ſhould be enquired into in the gentleſt Manner, by ſummoning them to appear before the King and Council.

The Day being come, The Biſhops put the King upon the Proof that they preſented ſuch a Petition, knowing none were preſent but themſelves when they delivered it; and this was ſome while inſiſted upon, till by the Candor of the Archbiſhop it was own'd. This point being gain'd, their Lordſhips were demanded to enter into ſeparate Recognizances to appear the next Term at the King's-Bench, in order to a legal Tryal for their Contempt, and publiſhing that Petition, which was reputed to be a Libel. To this they pleaded the Benefit of their Peerages: This was a ſurprize to the King and Council, and put them upon ſome Difficulties; for to have acquitted them would have reflected upon the King's Authority, and countenanced ſome further Undutifulneſs in them, or others: Therefore it was judged neceſſary that my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbet* ſhould acquaint their Lordſhips with the Laws in that Caſe; which working no change in their Reſolutions, but they perſiſting peremptorily in their Plea, There was no other Expedient to be found, but either to acquit them, or ſend them Priſoners to the Tower, in order to a legal Tryal: Which how favourably it was managed, and what overſights were committed in the want of proof of Matter of Fact, and ſuffering the King's Diſpenſing Power then to be ſo fully argued, is notoriouſly known; ſo that, I think, none have any reaſon to complain of the King's Juſtice in that Affair, but rather to commend his Clemency and Patience in enduring the Huzza's and Popular Rejoycings at their acquittal.

As to the placing ſome Roman Catholicks in Colleges; it being well known, that the Kings of *England* in all Ages have diſpenſed with Qualifications required by the Statutes of the Univerſities, I ſuppoſe you will lay no great ſtreſs upon that matter, eſpecially ſince the Judgment was paſſed about the King's Diſpenſing Power.

Thus, I hope, I have given you ſome Satisfaction as to thoſe particulars, which gave the greateſt cauſe of Clamor, that the King kept not his Promiſe in Protecting the Church of *England*; whereas he only uſed his Authority againſt ſome Perſons whom he judged Contemners of it; and there are inſtances enough to be found of Proceedings upon as ſmall Offences againſt ſuch as interpretatively were denyers of the King's Supremacy; which by our Laws is a matter of dangerous Conſequence.

But if what I have ſaid be not enough to ſatisfie an over-byaſſed Mind, there is one thing more, which nothing can reſiſt but Obſtinacy; which is, that it is now manifeſt, this Deſign of the Prince of *Orange* was not only hatched, but brought to ſome Maturity, long before any of theſe things were tranſacted.

II. HAVING thus ſtated Matter of Fact, that the King found his Deſign of Liberty of Conſcience oppoſed, I ſhall come to the Second particular laid down; *viz.* That by the Ignorance or Treachery of ſome, and the Arts of others, theſe Ends the King propoſed, were totally fruſtrated.

Firſt, It was an unpardonable Overſight in the Miniſters of State, that they did not with all Faithfulneſs and Freedom repreſent to the King that all Proteſtants, and eſpecially the Church of *England*, were jealous that he deſigned to bring in Popery; when they experimentally knew, how much Miſchief the very Apprehenſions of it had done in the Two laſt Kings Reigns; and therefore they ſhould have adviſed ſome good Methods to have removed thoſe very Suſpicions, and have oppoſed all hot Counſels that were given to the contrary.

Secondly, They ought to have conſidered the difference of the Seaſons, and the diſparity of Circumſtances the King was in, in reſpect of his Proteſtant Predeceſſors; and therefore ſhould have been very Cautious of putting him upon exerciſing the like Authority as they had done: For wiſe Men (as they ought to have been) ſhould have conſidered, that a Proteſtant King, who had Parliaments and ſuch

numerous Subjects of his own Religion, might without any Difficulty or Oppoſition uſe his Prerogative in the higheſt Strein, while the People ſaw it was to preſerve or protect their Religion; but they might be well aſſured that no Roman Catholick King could do the ſame in favour of his Religion, or for the puniſhment of ſuch as ſtifly maintained Proteſtantiſm, or the Church of *England*, but it would irritate their Minds and alienate the Affections of the People from him, which of all other Things ought to be avoided.

Therefore it was the extremity of Imprudence to diſoblige the greateſt Part of all Orders of Men, who had been moſt zealous for the Two King *Charles's*; and even ſuch as had, to their utmoſt Peril, ſtuck cloſe to the Lineal Succeſſors, by removing them (upon the ſole Account of not giving their previous Aſſent out of Parliament to take off the Penal Laws and Teſts) from the Council Board, and other Places of Honour, Profit or Truſt, in the Court; or from their Lieutenancy, Juſtice of Peaceſhip, or Magiſtracy in Corporations; and filling their rooms either with ſuch Perſons as had no Intereſt, or who had nothing to commend them but their Rhodomontado Promiſes; or were the violenteſt in declaring againſt the perſecuting Spirit of the Church of *England*.

Whereas they ſhould by skilful Application have endeavoured to aſſure the Minds of the Nobility, Clergy, Magiſtrates and Gentry, That the King aimed at no other thing than to preſerve the Church of *England* as the National Church; and obtained by Act of Parliament, an equitable Liberty for Roman Catholicks and Diſſenters to exerciſe their Religious Worſhip, without invading any Rights of the Church of *England*, only depriving them of their compulſory Power to force others to conform, or ſuffer the Penalties the Law had provided.

But we had nothing of all this; but on the other ſide, the careſſing the New Allyes, and encouraging their Animoſities againſt the Church of *England*; purging Corporations, without any regard to conſequences, fitneſs or unfitneſs of Men; thinking there was no more in it than to give Names into a Secretary to be inſerted in a Mandate, according to the Informations of Three or Four Itinerant Informers, or the Diſſenters Agitators, who for that purpoſe were conſtantly with my Lord *S*— Mr. *B*— Mr. *P*— or others, who either out of Ignorance, or what was worſe, poſſeſſed the King with an Opinion, that the Diſſenters were the Men of greateſt Intereſt in Corporations; ſo that the only way to gain Burgeſſes from them in any

any enſuing Parliament, was to reſtore ſuch as had been diſplaced by the Corporation Act, and remove all that would not promiſe their aſſent to the Conditions propoſed; and put in any who would concur with them, though but in outward appearnce, as it is evident they only did.

Certainly never any Pretenders to Politicks took ſo direct a courſe to ruin the whole Deſign of the well-meaning King; who now could neither ſee nor hear any Thing, but by the Eyes and Ears of thoſe who had ſhut out all the Loyal Men they could from about him.

A Third want of Conſideration, at leaſt in the Miniſters of State, was, That on one hand as they flattered the King, how zealous Diſſenters would be in Conjunction with Roman Catholicks, to provide a Majority of Votes in a Parliament, to take of the Penal Laws and Teſts; ſo on the other, they perſwaded him the Principles of the Church of *England* were ſuch, that he needed not fear their oppoſing any thing was done by his Authority: *For Non-Reſiſtance and Paſſive-Obedience were incorporated into their very Religion*; which was a fatal Miſtake, as a Reverend Prelate hath now manifeſtly ſhown in theſe Words, lately publiſhed to the World.

—*I know it was a popular Objection of many miſguided Diſſenters from the Church of* England, *that our Principles were too Monarchical, and that we carried the Doctrine of Obedience further than might be conſiſtent with the Safety of a Proteſtant Church, or the Privileges of a Free-born People; But it is now to be hoped that the ſtrongeſt Argument of all other, which is Experience from undoubted Matter of Fact, has put the Objection for ever out of Countenance* ——

Biſhop of *Rochester's* 2 Letter, p. 53, 54.

The Engliſh of which is, That the Obligation of Oaths, and the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance, ought to give way to the Preſervation of the Church of *England*: Which, if it be good Divinity, I ſee not why others, that think their Churches as Pure and Reformed as ours, may not challenge the ſame Privileges, when their way of Worſhip is in Danger. And then, I hope, the Convention need not trouble Mens Conſciences with Oaths, which are ſo unobliging, and but as ſo many untwiſted Threads to a Free-born People, that will not be fettered with Iron Chains.

A Fourth

A Fourth Specimen of the weak Judgments of the Miniſters of State was this, That when they had Connived, or Countenanced ſuch Proceedings, as manifeſtly alienated the Affections of ſo many Perſons of Intereſt from the King, they never caſt their Eyes abroad to conſider who at home were left to ſtand by the King; or what advantages the Prince of *Orange*, or the States of *Holland*, were like to have upon the King's loſing the Hearts of his People; neither thinking how much it concerned *Holland*, in point of Trade, to obſtruct the Indulgence; or what endeavours they would uſe to divert the War threatned by *France* againſt them; which they were likelieſt effectually to doe by ſupplying the Prince of *Orange* with a ſufficient Force to joyn with the diſobliged Malecontents here. Yet there was no Care taken to penetrate into their Counſels, or to get timely Intelligence of their Preparations; nor had any the foreſight to watch the Actions, Conſults or Correſpondencies of diſplaced Perſons: Neither were any Intelligencers provided in the King's Army to give Notice of the Aſſociators there, who carried on their Combination ſo ſecretly, that there was not the leaſt diſcovery made of any Inclination to a Defection till it was done, and impoſſible then to be remedied.

This leads me to conſider the Treacherous Officers of State, and Privy Councellors; one of which, 'tis vehemently ſuſpected, fled rather to ſecure his Eſtate than his Perſon; having ſo many relations with the Prince, and who might eaſily been Spirited back again, if it had been convenient for his Affairs; however, he hath ſent a Letter to prepare his Pardon here, loading the King, and the other Counſellors, with the Miſcarriages he was as forward as any to promote. This Noble-man, after he had wormed out One States-man, who in the Opinion of moſt, would have prevented this Revolution, had he continued in Employment, finding the King had a Perſonal kindneſs for Fa. *P*— and having fathomed his depth, and found him a meer Pretender to Politicks, though Ambitious to be ſo thought; one of more Zeal than Prudence or Forecaſt, him he made great uſe of to confirm his Intereſt with the King; and made a perfect Tool of him to break Matters that he intended to Second; and had a Set of Diſſenters always at his Elbow to vouch for the Serviceableneſs of the Party: So that whatever the Sober Roman Catholick Clergy, or Lay Perſons adviſed (who I am well aſſured miſliked theſe violent Proceedings) was by their Dexterity rejected.

It is too apparent there were many other Secret Enemies to the King, as well as to his Proceedings in his Council or Court, otherwiſe ſo many of them had not immediately gone over to the Lords, who invited, and joyned with, the Prince of *Orange* as ſoon as the King had left *White-hall*.

Theſe falſe-hearted Counſellors appeared moſt zealous to promote every Thing that could be propoſed in putting the King upon the ſtretch of his Prerogative; while at the ſame time they hugged themſelves to ſee the King bearded or baffled in any thing: Theſe were the forwardeſt to inſtigate the King to load his Artillery againſt ſuch as were below his Anger; and to render him ſuſpected by petty Matters, of preferring Roman Catholicks to Places in the Univerſities, Civil or Military; knowing the Preferring every ſuch Single Perſon loſt the King ſome Hundreds of Men. But you ſhould never find they preferred an old Loyal Cavalier, or any whom they knew would adhere firmly to the King's Perſon and Intereſt: Inſomuch that One new-raiſed Lord, and the great Contriver of the Aſſociation in the Army, had for ſome Years prevailed to get more Officers preferred than any Five of the General Officers beſides.

Theſe kept their ſecret Correſpondence with Divines, and others, to make a Clamour againſt the Increaſe of Popery, and the Deſign of ſettling it by an Army; when they knew there were an Hundred Officers and Soldiers of their own Preferring that would deſert the King in his need, for One Roman Catholick that could ſtick cloſe to him, in reſpect of their Number.

Theſe were the Men who ſtrove to out-vie all others, in exciting the King to chaſtiſe all that oppoſed him; ſtill preſſing his Majeſty to diſplace ſuch as they knew were moſt Popular, and who by being removed would bring the moſt Obloquy or Suſpicion upon the King; and did all this under colour, that if his Majeſty did otherwiſe it would be looked upon as making an inglorious Retreat.

Theſe, when they ſaw the King abandoned by a Few, diſcouraged him from confiding in his Army; brought him back from *Salisbury*; and finding his Affairs rowling down the Hill puſhed them forward by the ſly Inſinuation of the Cowardiſe or Treachery of his Army. Theſe hindered him from ſending all his Horſe and Dragoons, and horſing his Foot to have fought the Prince's Army, while Sea-ſick and wanting Horſe. Theſe promoted the Addreſſes from the Biſhops and Nobles, and the Fleet; nay did every thing to drive the King into deſpair.

I might

I might add many more particulars; but the Men are now ſo well known, and their actions, that it would be labour loſt: As alſo I might relate the Activeneſs of thoſe Engliſh Noble-men, and of that Famous Divine, who were of the Prince's Council in *Holland*, and concerted Matters with their Correſpondents here, but that I muſt not be too tedious.

There are a Sort of Courtiers and Counſellors, for whom I want a proper Name; and thoſe are ſuch as are blaſting their Great Maſter, and their Fellow Counſellors and Servants, with their unmanly Apologies; publiſhing to the World, how they diſſembled with King *James*, acted againſt their Conſcience, and with Eye-ſervice kept their Poſts, leaſt worſe than they ſhould have ſupplied them: If ſuch as theſe had Generous Souls, they would have improved their Intereſt with the King, and with Courage and Reſolution adviſed him of the Miſchief the hot or treacherous Counſellers did him; but they are timerous Fellows, and for fear they may fall under ſome Cenſure for their Actings, are preparing their way to be included in the Act of Indemnity. Theſe had ſhared of the King's Liberality and Grace as deep as any, and not being able to live out of the ſmell of *White hall*, will hereafter, I doubt not, have occaſion to imploy their ſmooth Tongues and Pens to Apologize for their Complyance with the preſent Powers; and then will plead, that what they do now was, that they might the better be able to ſerve the next Succeſſor. Such *Naamans*, that ſtipulate with God for their Bowing in the Houſe of *Rimmon*! Such *Protei*, ſuch *Laodiceans*, had done more honourably to have reſerved their Pleas till they had been called to the Bar, or have fee'd Council to have pleaded for them, when there had been occaſion, than thus to have blazoned their preſent Loyalty, and expoſed it to be ridicul'd.

By this time, I hope, you do not wonder at the Calamities that have befallen the King, who had ſo many different Intereſts to pleaſe, and ſuch potent Enemies againſt the only means to unite them. He had thoſe of his own Religion preſſing him to uſe his Power, for their Eaſe in common with his other Subjects. He had the Diſſenters, whoſe Envy to Roman Catholicks was ſuch, that they were willing in their Hearts rather to loſe one Eye themſelves, than that Papiſts ſhould have the benefit of both with them. He had the Church of *England* highly diſpleaſed with both, and puſhing their Reſentments to the utmoſt. His Principle of Toleration compelled him to admit of mixed

mixed Councils, and employ Persons of different Interests; and whilst he endeavoured to reconcile all Parties, he suffered by the mortal Feuds amongst themselves. He had Children not over Dutiful; Counsellers not over Wise; and Officers not over Faithful, nor over Prudent. The People, that were generally promoted by him, were not the most Grateful; and the Army, in which he took the most Pride and Pleasure, proved neither Valiant nor Loyal to his Interest. No wonder therefore if he was hurried down by such an Inundation.

But yet, if I can presage any thing, his Subjects will find such a miss of him, and he and they will have their Eyes open to see and avoid the Rocks both their Fortunes have been split upon; insomuch that they will call him in again, and wellcome him with more Huzza's than at his last Coming from *Rochester*.

To convince you of this, I shall lastly consider the Condition we are now in, and hope to satisfie you that it is much worse than ever it was, or like to be under King *James*. And because the Convention have summed up the Grievances we laboured under in King *James* his time, not doubting but they diligently enquired after all they could devise to blacken him with, I shall take them as they lie in their Declaration, Dated *February* the Thirteenth, when they Elected King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and draw the parallel with all Impartiality.

The First Article is, That *King JAMES the Second, by the Assistance of divers Evil Counsellers, Judges and Ministers, imployed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.* In answer to which, I hope you are convinced, by what I have hitherto discoursed, that it was only Liberty to all sorts of Dissenters, that King *James* aimed at: And if Roman Catholicks might have had their share of the Ease, his Majesty desired no more. And how the Protestant Religion was thereby endeavoured to be subverted or extirpated no rational Man can conceive, who only considers the small number of Converts made in his time, and the small Assistance his Roman Catholick Subjects could afford him to it: Whom when in his last Extremity he had Armed, they were not the 40th. part in his Army, nor the 300th. fighting Man in his Kingdom.

On the other side it is evident, that in his time the Church of *England* flourished more than it had done ever since the Reformation; as appeared by the uncontrolled Liberty of our Worship, the Fulness of our Churches, the better Observance of all its Rites and Ceremonies, and the greatest Number of Dissenters brought into the Communion of the Church by the Learned and Unanswerable Writings of that time

againſt Popery; if we may believe a Reverend Prelate, who adds, *That in that Work he ſuppoſeth none of any other Perſwaſion will enter into Competition with the Orthodox Clergy.* And there was ſome Reaſon for it; becauſe the Diſſenters had formerly conceived a Prejudice againſt the Church of *England*, that they make too near Approaches to Popery; but when they ſaw them ſuch Champions for the Proteſtant Religion, at a time when Allowance was given to attack them in their own Entrenchments, they began to have a more favourable Opinion of them.

Biſhop of *Rochester's* 2 Letter p. 55.

But now we ſee if Proteſtancy in general be not in ſo great Danger, yet the Church of *England* and Epiſcopacy, the beſt Bulwork againſt Popery, is in imminent Peril; as appears by the late Act of Toleration, when Turciſm is not excepted though Popery be, which was ſo much oppoſed by the Church of *England* in King *James* his time.

We all know the Covenant to extirpate Prelacy had its Origine in *Scotland* 49 Years ſince; and ſo prevailed afterwards, that it ſubverted and extirpated it there, notwithſtanding we had a King then, not only a Proteſtant, but a moſt zealous Aſſerter of, and a Martyr for, the Church of *England*. And now we find the ſame Game begun to be played again in *Scotland*, their Eſtates having declared, That *Prelacy and Superiority of any Office, above Presbyters, is, and hath been, an unſupportable Grievance and Trouble to that Nation, in all its Concerns, both Sacred and Civil; and is inconſiſtent with, and contrary to, the general Inclination of the People, and the legal Eſtabliſhment of their Church at the Reformation; and neither can be continued nor introduced again into this Church and Kingdom, without evident Ruin to the greateſt part of this People.*

It is manifeſt there is a conſiderable Party now in the Convention here, much countenanced by the Prince, who with great Sedulity are endeavouring to ſecond the Scotch Ordinance: And we never yet found Presbyterians or Common-wealths-men forſake their Principles; though for ſecular Intereſts they can conceal their Sentiments, yet as Moles they are ſtill working under Ground.

Upon the whole matter, if the New King be true to his Declaration and Promiſes made to his Allyes, when he undertook this Expedition, I ſee very little diſagreement betwixt the Times of King *James*, and what, as Prince of *Orange* at leaſt, he was obliged to, if ſolemn Declarations or Promiſes, which by Princes ſhould be Religiouſly obſerved, may be credited: For he their promiſeth Liberty of Worſhip to Roman Catholicks; ſo that either he muſt do the ſame thing King *James* did, or if he will not be a Slave to his Word he muſt own that he damnably Equivocated; in that, by allowing Roman Catholicks their Liberty

of

of Worſhip, he meant only ſuch Roman Catholicks as he brought over with himſelf in his Army. In the mean time if he follow the inclination of his Soul, or the principles of his Education, or the precedent of the States of *Holland*, he muſt have a ſtrange ſtruggle in his Soul how to oblige all Intereſts, or keep his Promiſe to all; and if he does otherwiſe, he may meet with King *James's* Fate. But I ſuppoſe his Conſcience will not make him a Slave to any Religion, nor that he will boggle at any thing to keep the Crown, more than he did to get it: And we may aſſure our ſelves, that he, who ſhewed himſelf ſo unwilling to ſwear at his Coronation to maintain the Church of *England* as now by Law Eſtabliſhed, and yet ſwallowed that Oath at laſt, will make no more difficulty to break it, if his Intereſt lead him to it, than he did to break the Two ſolemn Oaths he ſwore *Not to be Stat-holder.*

But ſuppoſe the Proteſtant Religion be more ſecure now than it was under King *James*; yet we have already loſt the Doctrine of our Church, of Obedience and Loyalty to our Lawful Sovereign, in which it was wont to glory: And we muſt no longer urge our Adverſaries of both kinds of Diſſenters, with their Doctrine or Practice of Depoſing, *Abdicating* or Murthering, of Sovereign Princes: Yea, to the Shame of Chriſtianity it ſelf, we have practically demonſtrated, that we look upon ſolemn and ſacred Oaths to have no ſort of Obligation in them; whereas if we had ſuffered, in the firm adhering to our Religion in the time of King *James*, (who was never known to have offered any Compulſion to force us to quit our Religion) we had reſerved our Conſciences free, by not having contradicted the Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance; a Doctrine, which is now ſo entirely deſtroyed as never to be revived again in this Age, unleſs it be to maintain an Uſurper with Excluſion of our Lawful Sovereign, which would be an Eternal Shame to the Engliſh Nation, and a Forfeiture of all our Credits with all Countries abroad. But we have more of this than will be eaſily wiped away; for if ſome few Biſhops, among which the moſt Reverend Metropolitan leads the Van, did not in ſome manner ſtand up for our Principles, we ſhould not have left ſo much as a ſmall Remainder of a Shipwrackt Church and Doctrine.

Let us now ſee, if by this Revolution we fare better as to our Laws and Liberties. What was maliciouſly enough ſaid by a very old Gentleman of the long Robe, *That he had well nigh out-liv'd the Laws*, might have been verified within one Fort-night after by the youngeſt Lawyer in *England*; yea, that he had lived to ſee a total Abolition of the Laws, and the very Legiſlative of *England*: for we have changed an Heredi-

tary Monarchy into an Elective one, and at one Stroke cancelled all the Laws that have been made to eſtabliſh the juſt Monarchical Government, and ſo looſened the very Ligaments of it, by declaring an Original Power in the People, that no Government can be ſtable, if any Ambitious Perſon have the dexterity to cajole the Multitude.

It is true, we have a Titular King, who hath his Charter from a Convention, which he ſummoned together without any Authority found in our Law Books. They, who had no right to diſpoſe of the Regality, made him a deed of Guiſt of the Crown and Sceptre. Whatever ſuch a Convention, Self-creating themſelves a Parliament, can do, may with as much Right and Juſtice be done by any other Perſons choſen by an over-awed People. In which Election the Lords can claim no right of Suffrage, as never having been Elected by the Sovereign Power of the People. So that a Prince, coming to his Sovereignty by ſuch means, is worſe than a Doge of *Venice*, who is to enjoy his Honour for his Life: For upon any Miſdemeanor or Oppreſſion, judged ſuch by the People, they may reaſſume their Power, and with as much ſhew of Reaſon and Probity Dethrone their preſent King and Creature, as they did King *James*: Nay, before I have finiſhed this Letter, I hope to prove they may do it with much more Reaſon.

Beſides, what Security can any Man have for his Liberty and Property under ſuch Violators of all Laws, Sacred and Civil? For by the ſame Authority they Dethrone King *James*, Diſinheret the Prince of *Wales*, and Alter the Lineal Succeſſion, they may, without any formality of Laws, do the like to any particular Perſon of what degree ſoever.

The Second Article ſhews the ways and means, which King *James* uſed to effect what he was charged withal in the Firſt; and that is expreſſed by *Aſſuming and Exerciſing a Power of Diſpenſing with, and Suſpending Penal Laws, and the Execution of Laws without Conſent of Parliament.*

Let us now ſee how well the World is mended with us. The Diſpenſing Power King *James* uſed was principally, if not ſolely, in Two particulars; *viz.* in the Teſt Acts, and the Penal Laws againſt Papiſts and Diſſenters: And this was done by Colour, at leaſt, of his Prerogative and Supremacy, and Precedents even in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign; and the Plea was the Inconſiſtence of the Teſt Acts with the Duty of all Subjects to ſerve their Sovereign, which the then Judges ſaid, was as a neceſſary appendage to Regal Power, and ſuch a Fundamental in Government, as no after Act ought to deprive a Lawful King of.

Yet our Convention, not only while they undertook no leſs than to make Laws, ſuch as concerned all the Subjects and their Poſterity, in things

things of greateſt Moment, both as to Honour, Property, Liberty and Life; but alſo after they had aſſumed God Almighty's Prerogative of Creating themſelves out of Nothing, and Transforming themſelves into a Parliament in Name, out of an Aſſembly without any Name known in our Laws, have both made new Laws and abrogated old ones, not only by Diſpenſing with one another, as to taking the Oaths and making the Declarations enjoyned by the Teſt Acts, but have Diſpenſed with the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; and are endeavouring to diſpenſe with Penal Laws too, the very topmoſt Grievance they complain of: So that without any Authority from their Lawful King, or the People, they have Diſpenſed with the moſt known, moſt univerſally owned, and moſt ſacred Laws of the Land.

As to the Third Article concerning King *JAMES* his *Committing and Proſecuting divers Eminent Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be excuſed from Conſenting to the ſaid aſſumed Power of Suſpending the Laws and their Execution*, I muſt refer to what I have mentioned before concerning that Matter; and ſhall add, That it is manifeſt there wants not a great Propenſity in very many, out of the Convention, who joyn with the Majority in the Houſe of Commons, to do the ſame to ſuch of the Biſhops as will not Worſhip the King they have ſet up.

And if they apprehended not the ill Conſequence of ſuch a Treatment from the late Precedent, the new Biſhop of *Salisbury* had not offered the Expedient that King *William* and his Council ſhould have Liberty to excuſe a Dozen of them: Nay, though had it not been now agreed on, that none ſhall be exempted from taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to this King, under the Penalty of having Two parts of their Temporalities ſeized, any one, without a Spirit of Prophecy, might have prognoſticated, that by that time the Government is ſome Months older, and hath got ſtronger Fangs and Claws, it would make no difficulty of puniſhing their Diſobedience much more ſeverely than King *James* did: Eſpecially ſince the Eſtates of *Scotland* have Enacted already, That *all their Miniſters ſhall pray for their new elected King and Queen, and read the Proclamation emitted by the Eſtates for that purpoſe, under the Pain of Deprivation and loſing their Benefices*: Which ſince we find they have actually done, and put in the Preachers at Conventicles in their rooms; and at *Widmerpool* a Crew of Non-conformiſts broke open the Church-door to force a Paſſage for their Paſtor to preach to them in the preſent Incumbents abſence, though he had provided one to ſupply his Place. By which we cannot but obſerve, that what is ſo much clamoured againſt in our True and Lawful Sovereign,

vereign, for ordering his Declaration of Indulgence to be publiſhed in Churches, is now highly applauded in an irregular Aſſembly, who aſſume to themſelves as Illegal and Arbitrary Power to enjoyn a Proclamation, contrary to the Faith of all the Regular Clergy of that Kingdom, to be publiſhed, even from their Pulpits.

It is true, moſt of their Miniſters about *Edenburgh* have refuſed to obey, and do continue to pray for King *James*: But how either they, or our Biſhops and Clergy, will demean themſelves, when the Government ſhall be in a Condition to exact the Penalties, I dare not undertake to foretell; becauſe I know ſome of them cannot be content to live upon 40 *l.* a Year.

As to the Fourth Article againſt the King's *erecting a Court of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*, &c. It is manifeſt that as the Act of Repeal of the Statute of *Elizabeth* hath a Salvo for the King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; ſo that there was an appearance of Law to juſtifie that Commiſſion. But now we have a Self-created Court of Parliament, without any Precedent or colour of Law, which not only enacts Matters, in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, at their own pleaſure; but hath voted the *Throne vacant*, and diſſolved the whole Government, Sacred and Civil.

The Fifth Article accuſeth the King *For levying Money otherwiſe than the ſame was granted by Act of Parliament.* To this I Anſwer, That rightly Conſtituted Parliaments have been always very tender in levying Taxes upon the People; therefore the Firſt Act of 25 *E.* 1. c. 5. made for the ſecurity of the Subjects againſt Two oppreſſive Aids and Taxes is; That, *leaſt ſuch as have been given him for his Wants, or other Buſineſs might turn to a Bondage to them and their Poſterity, he grants, that he will not draw ſuch into Cuſtom.* And in the next Chapter, That *he will not take ſuch but by common Aſſent of the Realm.* And in the 34*th.* of his Reign, *Cap.* 1. the Words are, *No Tillage or Aid ſhall be taken or levyed by us or our Heirs in our Realm without the good Will and Aſſent of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Knights, Burgeſſes, and other Freemen of the Land:* Which, with ſeveral other Statutes, are confirmed by the Petition of Right, 3 *Car.* 1. How juſt therefore the Charge againſt King *James* can be in this particular, all Men may conſider, when he hath had no Taxes except upon Tobacco, Sugar, *&c.* ſince his Reign: And although he levied ſome Monies upon ſome Branches of the Revenue, that were but ſettled on King *Charles* II. for Life; yet it was by virtue of a Leaſe that King was Impowered to grant for Three Years, and the ſame was confirmed to him by Act of Parliament preſently after its Convening.

But

But now, Sir, I pray conſider the Condition we are at preſent in; and judge, whether the Government is not now, and like to be, infinitely more Arbitrary and Oppreſſive than ever King *James*'s was: For we have ſeen the Prince of *Orange* diſpoſe of the whole Revenue, even of that, which if the Throne were Vacant, was wholly to have ceaſed; and this only upon the requeſt of certain Lords and Members of former Parliaments, and Citizens of *London*; who can never ſure be judged the Legiſlatives of the Nation. And now though the Convention hath ſtamped upon it ſelf the Authority of a Parliament, yet we cannot look upon them to have a more Lawful Authority to raiſe Money on the Freemen of the Kingdom, than the Black Parliament had even after the Murther of King *Charles* the Firſt. Is not this a great Argument, how tender this Aſſembly is of the Privileges and Properties of the People, when they follow ſuch Precedents.

We all know what an infinite Sum of Money that Rebellious Parliament extorted from the Subjects; and no leſs Sums will now ſecure this Government. It is well known that there is 600000 *l.* ordered to the Dutch for their Brotherly aſſiſtance; that the Eſtabliſhment for the Army for One Year is ſtated at One million and 6 or 700000 *l.* That One million and 200000 *l.* is computed for a Years Eſtabliſhment of the Fleet; near upon 300000 *l.* is to be paid to the Citizens that lent it; 400000 *l.* is granted to their King for a grateful Acknowledgment of his Kindneſs in bringing upon us all this Charge; *Schomberg* muſt have a conſiderable Reward for his good Service too; and at the ſame time we muſt pay a vaſt Poll for our Enſlaved Heads; and Land Taxes to the Third of the real worth of our Eſtates. Neither is this unlike the Torments of Hell, which have no end; for they muſt be continued ſo long as we keep out King *James* and his Poſterity from their Rights. Moreover, as if all this would not impoveriſh us enough, we who were ſo affraid leaſt King *James* ſhould call in the French to his Aſſiſtance, reſolve to do it for him; and by our New King's declaring War againſt *France* are bringing them upon us with a Vengeance.

I hope theſe Conſiderations being certain Truths, and Matters of Fact, will move all true Engliſh-men to endeavour to be eaſed of theſe unſupportable Burthens, which nothing can do but an unanimous Declaration of all that elected theſe Conventioners, that they gave them no Indenture of Return to impower them either to alter the Government, or impoſe ſuch unſupportable Burthens upon them and their Poſterity; which if they were able to bear, and this Govern-

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ment ſhould come to be ſo ſettled as to fear no Oppoſition, yet the People muſt be forced to pay Two millions at leaſt more to diſcharge the Army upon Disbanding: So that upon a modeſt Account, half the preſent Money in *England*, and a third part of all the growing Revenue of the Kingdom, will not ſatisfy all the Neceſſities of this Government: From all which Burthens we have no hopes to be free'd, but by the peaceable Reſtoring of our Lawful King, whom we know to have been ſo good an Husband of his Revenue, that without Subſidies or Taxes, he maintained all the Charges of his Government; as I ſhall more particularly ſhew, when I come to the next Article.

Which is the Sixth in Number, and complains, That *King JAMES kept a ſtanding Army in time of Peace without conſent of Parliament.* To which I ſhall briefly Anſwer, Firſt, that he maintained and enriched thoſe Officers and Soldiers out of his own Revenue, without any Subſidy from his People. Thoſe he called his delight; but if he had foreſeen the Ingratitude of ſo many of them, as well as the Unnaturalneſs of his own Children, no doubt he would have beſtowed his Money on better deſerving Perſons.

However King *James* imploy'd no Foreign Force, but contented himſelf with his Natural born Subjects: But lo the goodly Exchange! We are now under the Force and Tyranny of an Army compoſed of Dutch, Germans, French and Brandenburghers, to be recruited as the Government ſhall think fit, till we be perfectly Enſlaved; and our Free-born Engliſh-men, who by the known Laws of the Land are not to be ſent into Foreign Service without their Conſents, are forced on Ship board, Kidnapped and Spirited away.

In the 13, 14 of King *Ch.* 2. *cap.* 3. The Act for ordering Forces, *&c.* hath a Proviſo, That *the Act ſhall not extend to the giving or declaring of any Power for the Tranſporting of any the Subjects of this Realm, or any way Compelling them to march out of this Kingdom, otherwiſe than by the Laws of the Land ought to be done.* And it is a known Law of the Land 1 *E.* 3. 5. That *none ſhall be conſtreined to go out of their Counties, but for a Cauſe of Neceſſity of ſudden coming of ſtrange Enemies into the Realm.* But now the Engliſh Soldiers, under pretext of a League made by King *Charles* the Second, are not only compelled to go out of their Counties, but out of the Kingdom; not for the Neceſſity of ſudden Coming of ſtrange Enemies into the Realm, but becauſe ſuch Enemies being Come force them to go whether they pleaſe. It ſeems we have forgot the Coming of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* from *Saxony*, who by ſuch Arts as theſe, after they had got our Ports and Shipping, under pretence of defending the then King

King *Vortigern*, at laſt brought ſuch a Force as conquered and enſlaved the miſerable Britiſh Inhabitants; for our Engliſh Nobility and Gentry connive at the tranſporting our Engliſh Forces into foreign Parts, whilſt new Supplies from *Holland* are brought hither, and have let the buſineſs go ſo far, that now there is neither ſtrong Hold, nor any Ship of War in *England*, that are not entirely in the Hands of the Dutch, or ſuch as the Prince and his Dutch Officers can confide in. Nay, the Convention too, to finiſh the Work, have enabled their King to compell all that by inveigling Arts have been liſted in his Army, to go where he pleaſeth, by enacting the uſe of Martial Laws, contrary to the Petition of Right; and the Act of King *Charles* the 2d obtained with ſo much difficulty, againſt the quartering of Soldiers in private Houſes, is wholly broke and diſſolved. Is it not alſo ſadly known to the Countrey, how few pay any thing for their Meat and Drink at their Quarters, and all this when no Enemy is in the Kingdom.

It were endleſs to recount the Wiles, as well as Force, uſed to decoy and compell men on Ship-board. Some new-raiſed men are drawn into the Tower, and other places, under pretence of delivering them Arms and Cloths, and ſpirited away from thence; others are brought where Horſe and Foot are drawn up to force them on board; and ſuch as endeavour to get away privately, are ordered to be ſeized on, and impriſoned till they can be tranſported, or Martial Law executed on them; beſides the cashiering of whom they pleaſe, ſeizing their Arms, Cloths, and Horſes, and not paying them their Arrears. And whereas our provident King furniſhed his Stores, both for Land and Sea, more plentifully than any of his Predeceſſors; and over and above his ſtanding Army, raiſed above Twenty thouſand more upon the Prince's Invaſion, and ſet out a great Fleet, able for number, and all other things neceſſary, to have faught the Dutch, if his Sea-Commanders and Soldiers had been faithfull to him; and all this out of his own Revenues, without one penny charge by way of Aſſeſſment upon his Subjects.

Yet we find the Prince, that hath all theſe things provided to his Hands, notwithſtanding he hath the diſpoſal of all the Revenue, and all the Money borrowed of the City, ſcarce pays Subſiſtence-money to the Engliſh, though no doubt he pays and gratifies his Dutch Forces with a liberal hand.

As to the seventh Article, concerning King *James*'s *Causing several good Subjects being Protestants to be disarmed*, I cannot divine when that was, unless in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, or upon the Prince of *Orange*'s Landing, that some suspected to be engaged with them, might for prevention be disarmed: What good Protestants they were, of the Church of *England*, or of the *Geneva*-Cut, I know not; but I am sure such were, in construction of the Law, no good Subjects. And I think the Event shows, that if, according as the Law provides, the King had secured, as well as disarmed, more Persons who were in confederacy with the Prince, or armed for him at his Landing, neither his own nor his Subjects Condition had been so calamitous as it now is. As to the arming of Papists, the Necessity of Self-preservation (which is now the single Plea the Conventioners have for all their Actions) was more justifiable in the King, in whose Defence they were armed, (the most fundamental Laws of the Kingdom enjoining all persons able of Body to be armed, and assist their Sovereign on such occasions,) than it is for the present Government to disarm, confine, or imprison every whit as good Protestants as themselves, and leave us to be enslaved by an Army of Foreigners, and as many of them Papists too, as the King had of his own Subjects of that Religion in his Troops.

I think the Accusation against the King in the eighth Article, *for his Violating the Freedom of Elections*, if it be meant by purchasing Peoples Votes, might have been rectified by the Committee of Elections: But I have rarely observed, that either in King *James*, or his Royal Brother's time, the Kings Friends used the tenth part of that Industry in procuring Votes, as the Malecontents did. But if it is meant of Regulating Corporations, and *Quo Warranto's*, the very Parliament that was last dissolved, and would not yield to the taking off the Test, *&c.* was elected in the same Method; and we find, that when it is for their Interest they can admit Members chosen by virtue of late Charters, as in the approving of Mr. *Powle*, their Speaker, duly elected by the Corporation constituted by King *Charles* the 2d. his Charter, though I doubt not, but if he had not got the Majority of the Burgesses Votes, they had then damned the Election by that Charter. However 'tis but too apparent, whoever gave the King the Counsel to put the Question, or purge Corporations, were either the Designers of Mischief to the King, or such weak Politicians as scarce deserved to be door-keepers to a

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Privy Council; or ſuch as took their Pattern from the Long Parliament, or ſome old Rump Members, or their Progeny who invented it.

But whatever was intended, 'twas never put in execution; for the King being willing to have the Parliament he was laſt about to ſummon, as free as his People could deſire, had actually reſtored the old Charters to all the Corporations in *England*, long before the Prince landed.

However, theſe Gentlemen had little reaſon to urge the Violating of the Freedom of Elections, when they cannot but be conſcious the Power the Prince of *Orange* had got, and the Ferment the People were in, made it extremely dangerous for any to give a Vote for any Competitor, who was ſuſpected to have any inclination of Favour to King *James*, or the old legal way of chuſing Members of Parliament by the King's Writs. But let their Elections be as they will, I dare appeal to the Conſciences of the Electors, whether they did chuſe them to dethrone the King, to make themſelves a Parliament, to involve them in War and Miſery, to fleece and ruine them by Taxes, yea or no.

As to the ninth Article, concerning *Proſecution in the Court of Kings Bench for Matters and Cauſes cognoſcible only in Parliament*; I doubt not but thoſe Judges, before whom ſuch Cauſes were brought, are able to juſtifie their Proceedings, if they may be heard to deliver Law. But I believe there are ten Inſtances for one, how ſome Parliaments in factious Times, have brought Matters and Cauſes before themſelves, that were not properly cognoſcible by them. And if there wanted Preſidents in former Ages, I am ſure hundreds are to be found among the Ordinances of the Long Parliament, without mentioning thoſe ſuperlative ones of this Convention.

Concerning the tenth Article, about *Partial, corrupt, and unqualified Juries*; we had a Noiſe indeed of a Charge againſt Mr. *Graham*, and Mr. *Burton*, for ſuch Practices, but it hath been the wiſdom of the Committees to let that matter be kept in Lavender, for want of ſufficient Proof. I think the Engliſh World knows what packing there hath been of *Ignoramus* Juries, to ſtifle the conviction of ſome of thoſe, or their Peers, who were employed in framing this Article: And if ſome Men might have their Wills now, inſtead of Juries we ſhould have High Courts of Juſtice, or Martial Law, for all who ſhall oppoſe their Authority.

As to the eleventh Article, concerning *Exceſſive Bail required of Perſons committed in criminal Cauſes, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made for the Liberty of the Subject*; I ſuppoſe the Bail bore proportion to the Quality of the Offence, and Offenders; and it was much more for the Eaſe of the Subject to be at liberty upon Bail, whereby they might better provide for their Defence, when they come to be tried for criminal or ſuppoſed criminal Matters, as the Act expreſſeth it, than to be detained in Priſon, or cuſtody of Meſſengers, (as two Perſons of Honour of the Kingdom of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and ſeveral of our Kingdom have been,) without knowing their Accuſers, or their Crimes.

I ſuppoſe this Article was framed before the Stateſmen here had confidence to propoſe the temporary ſuſpending the *Habeas Corpus* Act, (which Act was not obtained without much Induſtry, and the expence of good Summs of Money, for the neceſſary occaſions of King *Charles* the Second, by which means he was induced to part with ſuch a Power as the Kings of *England* had formerly exerciſed by their Prerogatives,) ſeeing there was nothing more advatageous to the perſonal Liberty of the Subject, than that he might not be detained long in Priſon e'er he was brought to a legal Trial.

But that all the World may know the difference betwixt a ſettled legal Authority, and the Arbitrarineſs of any Power which makes Neceſſity (of which it ſelf only muſt be Judge) the ſole Rule of its Actions,) the Convention has found an Expedient for the new King to have power to ſecure as many as he pleaſes, that are ſuſpected to be no Freinds to his Government; and to detain their Perſons in Priſon without Bail; when as the Courts of Juſtice, in a legal Government, being filled with Judges, Men might be brought to a ſpeedy Trial, if they committed any Crime againſt the Government. This ſome, who had a tenderneſs for the Liberties of Engliſh-men, ſaw, and oppoſed it, upon the account that it would be a very ill Precedent, that any Breach ſhould be made upon ſuch a Bulwark of the Subjects perſonal Liberty; and when they were anſwered, that it were but a temporary Act, deſired in a time when the Security of the Infant Government was mainly to be taken care of, and might ceaſe when Courts of Juſtice were opened; it was replied by ſome honeſt Engliſh-men, That when any ſucceeding Kings ſhould obtain a kind and yielding Parliament, the Example of this Debauche would facilitate its more ready concurrence: For as as in ſatisfying

ing unlawfull Appetites, After-aſſignations are eaſier obtained than the firſt; ſo after this was aſſented to, it would be an eaſie matter to ſuggeſt the ſame, or other as perſuaſive Reaſons to continue it.

Theſe Gentlemen now find they ſpoke truth; and though the Deſigners, to prolong this deſpotick Power, obtained not their End at the firſt Propoſal, and ſome few were releaſed; yet upon the Motion of the Honourable Perſons I before took notice of to be bailed, the deſign of keeping all Perſons ſuſpected in awe prevailed, and a Trick was found to get the other Party that would oppoſe it to withdraw; ſo that upon the 24th of the ſame Month they finiſhed the Bill of its Continuance, by their reading it thrice at one Sitting; and no doubt they will find means to reinforce it as often as they have occaſion: So that I think you and all men will be convinced, that in this particular they have committed an arbitrary act, outdoing the worſt of any they can pretend King *James* did And though they ſhould object, that this is done in a Parliamentary way, yet the Subjects will difficultly diſtinguiſh between an Act of State and Prerogative in a lawfull King, and an Act of a number of Men, who have no legal Authority for what they do, but their own affirmation: and now by the continuance of this till *October* next, all may be ſatisfied how they intend to prolong this Slavery.

As to the twelfth Article, that *Exceſsive Fines have been impoſed, and Illegal and Cruel Puniſhments inflicted*; I think, upon due examination, they who had ſuch exceſſive Fines impoſed upon them, either were adjudged to deſerve them, according to their Tranſgreſſion of the Laws then in force, or elſe experimented the King's extraordinary Clemency in remitting a great part of them. However, I think it will be owned, that King *James* granted more general, as well as particular, Pardons, than any King did in ſo few years: Neither do I doubt but His Majeſty retains ſo much of the forgiving Nature of his Royal Family, that (notwithſtanding all the unparallel'd Provocations) all Perſons, that will timely return to their Duty and Allegiance, may be yet as ſecure of their Pardons as they can wiſh. This they themſelves know too well; for if I be not much miſtaken, the benignity of his Temper hath emboldened many to be active in this Revolution, who otherwiſe would have ſtill maintained the Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance.

As to the *Illegal and Cruel Punishments*; I know not whether it was tack'd to the former part of the Article, to excite a Compassion for Mr. *Oats* his Sufferings; but if it were, it behooves all honest men to stand upon their Guard, when a Convention prove Advocates for such barefac'd Villains: For there is nothing certainly more dangerous to any sort of Government, than to have false Oaths countenanced, or the breach of Laws once dispensed with; the latter of which we have seen justified and applauded, but I hope there will be no necessity to encourage the former; though we find the Dutch are much the experter Masters of the Trade of Shamming us with Fictions, and prodigiously falser Stories, for the support of their Interest, than ever our Phanaticks were, who have been reputed to have had a wondrous Dexterity in fomenting Jealousies and Fears, by a thousand artfull Tricks and Inventions.

As to the last Article, of *Grants and Promises made of Fines and Forfeitures before Conviction*, &c. I presume it is a surmise, rather than Matter of Fact; for all that know any thing of the King's Temper, will own that he was not very forward to doe any thing of that kind. For my part, I believe more Persons, who engaged for the Prince of *Orange*, have had promises of Places and Preferments, with shares of convicted Mens Estates beforehand, than ever any had under King *James*. And if we once attentively consider all the Advantages are got by this Revolution, it is, that forty or fifty Men are got into profitable Offices, who neither have more Skill to execute them, nor are of more generous Principles for advancing Religion, the Reputation, or the publick Good of the Nation, than their Predecessors; yet for their single sakes, and a swarm of Dutch Soldiers, all this Inundation of Misery hath been brought upon us.

Having thus dispatched the Grievances, I desire you, and all Lovers of their Religion and Countrey, calmly and in cold Bloud to consider, That though the King by mistaken Measures, and the Influence of evil Counsellours, did several things that might deserve the Name of Grievances; yet it is well known he had redressed the greatest part of them at the single Instance of a few of our Reverend Bishops, and some of the most considerable antecedently to their Addresses, (as may be seen by the Bishop of *Rochester*'s second Letter,) a Month before the Prince of *Orange* landed; and had designed

ſigned to have convened a Parliament according to the Privileges of the old Charters, in which he would have redreſſed whatever was wanting; and with ſo free, noble, and princely a Mind, conſented to all the Overtures ſhould have been propoſed to him for the ſecurity of our Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Properties, that if the Prince had deſigned no other Matters as to theſe our greateſt Concerns, than he publiſhed in his Declaration, he might, without ſetting his Foot on Ship-board, have been as glorious, and we as happy a People as we could have wiſhed.

But now (to the juſt cauſe of our bitter Complaints, and to the eternal Blemiſh of our Loyalty and Religion) we too late find, that his Aims were to obtain the Crown, and the Advancement of his Creatures: Whereas in his Declaration we find theſe Words, "So "we now think fit to declare, That this our Expedition is intended for no other Deſign, than to have a free and lawfull Parliament aſſembled aſſoon as is poſſible. And in another place, "We have nothing before our Eyes in this Undertaking, but the "Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, the covering of all men "from Perſecution, even Papiſts themſelves not excepted, for their "Conſciences, and the ſecuring to the whole Nation the free Enjoyment of their waſts, Rights, and Liberties, under a juſt and "legal Government. And in his Highneſs's additional Declaration he labours to refute the Belief, that he intended a Conqueſt: And while he would have us believe him, he endeavours to make us ſuſpect our King's Integrity in the Redreſſes he had made: But I hope by this time of the day we experimentally find, that the King's intentions were generous, open-hearted, and juſt; and that he would have performed his Promiſe to a Tittle; whereas the Prince prevaricated in the whole Affair.

To ſumm up all, If the Prince and his Confederates had intended what they made publick Profeſſion of, our Religion, Laws, and Eſtates might have been preſerved entire, without perjuring a whole Nation, without altering any fundamental Conſtitutions of the Government, without rendring the Engliſh Name odious to all Poſterity, without bringing upon us the imputation of Haters of our juſt and lawfull Monarchs, and a People ſo ignorant of our true Intereſt and Liberty, that we would truſt any ſort of Tyrants, rather than our own King; and without rendring our ſelves Vaſſals to the States, and their Booriſh Dutch Soldiers, who now manifeſtly

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grow inſolent, as appears in many particulars, but more eſpecially in a late Inſtance in *Buckinghamshire*, where a Gentleman having beſpoke a Supper, two Dutch Troopers with thier Frows came in, and would not be contented the Landlady ſhould prepare another for them, but would have the Gentlemans Supper for themſelves, but being gone out, the Maſter of the Houſe ſent it up to the Gentleman, and told him what the Dutchmen had ſaid; the Gentleman ſent them down a part of it, which they accepted, but that would not content them; they went up to the Gentleman and would have the whole; which he refuſing, they went out, and fetched three more of their Companions, and going up again, ſhot the Maſter of the Houſe his Son in the Shoulder, upon which he forthwith dyed; they wounded the Gentleman dangerouſly, as alſo a Blackſmith that would have helped him, and went away the next morning, as if nothing had been done. I might inſtance many more wilfull Murthers which have paſſed unpuniſhed, but that they are ſufficiently enough known.

To return therefore, I ſay our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, might have been preſerved by more advantageous Methods, and at leſs Expenſe, whereas by this late Cowardiſe, in neither defending our King nor the Laws, we have expoſed our Country as a Prey to any Prince, who can gain a Faction here, and back it with fourteen thouſand men. Neither are we leſs to regret the utter ſinking of our foreign Traffick, which we ſhall experimentally find was one of the powerfulleſt Euducements to the States, to contribute ſo much to this Undertaking; which now evidently appears, in that the States have ſent their Merchants under Convoys to get the firſt Markets, while ours muſt have no Trade, and the People ſuffer by the Enhancement of all Commodities to that degree, that in a little time it will equall all our other Taxes. It is well known they have been our Rivals and moſt treacherous Competitors in that particular; yet we have given up to their Stat-holder (and conſequently to them) the full poſſeſſion of our Arms, Magazines, and new Invented Engines; our Ports alſo, and Shipping, are entirely theirs, or in the power of ſuch as are ſolely intruſted by them. And whereas it hath hitherto been the Care of all Kingdoms or States, that would preſerve themſelves, never to admit Strangers to ſound their Harbors, nor ſee their Docks, Yards, or Stores, nor view their ſtrong Holds; our kind Countrey-men think not themſelves ſecure, without the

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delivery of all theſe to the Dutch Soldiers, in ſuch a manner, as they may be firm Cautionaries to the States, that we ſhall neither make War nor Peace, purſue our Trades, nor protect our Merchants nor Plantations, nor vend our Staple Commodities and Manufactures, without asking their leave; and which is worſe, we have opened to them the very Secrets of the Exchequer, and our political Government, by naturalizing ſuch as have as much Influence as ever *Pierce Gaveſton* had; and are like, with the other Counſellours of the High and Mighty States, to doe as much Miſchief, ſince they are only of the Cabinet.

Yet theſe are but the beginnings of Deſolations. We are now engaged in a War that cannot end any other way, than by reſtoring our lawfull King, but muſt laſt till we or *France* are ruined, or there be neither King nor Prince of *Wale* living, nor any lineal Deſcendents from them. But ſuppoſe, by the Acceſſion of this Kingdom to *Holland*, we ſhould be jointly able to maintain a War, muſt it not be at our Charge? Did not the Prince ſhew this early, in borrowing ſo great a ſumm of the Citizens? and Do not we already ſee, that it ſerves not, with all the Revenue, for an Entering Penny? Are we not ſelling our ſelves for Slaves by the Head; and about to have our Rents and Revenues quite exhauſted by exorbitant Taxes? When what the Caterpillars leave, the Locuſts ſhall have deſtroyed even the Growth of our Countrey and Induſtry, muſt we not alſo expect they will ſeize our very Lands and Inheritances? Such a delivery up of one's Countrey was never known before, nor acted by any Party of Engliſh Men, however rebellious they were to their lawfull King. The very blackeſt of Parliaments, that which murthered King *Charles* the Firſt, thought themſelves yet obliged to preſerve the Engliſh Intereſt and Traffick; and knowing the Encroaching Nature of the Dutch, and their Subtilty in laying hold of any advantage againſt us, judged it more honourable to engage in a War with them, till they had reduced them to equitable Terms, than to fortifie themſelves by their Alliance. Surely our Stateſmen have not any true Engliſh Bloud left in their Veins, otherwiſe they would never have given up the Tower, which is the Arſenal of our Arms, Records, and Coins; nor *Tilbury* Fort, *Chatham*, and the ineſtimable Treaſure of the River *Thames*; nor admitted the Dutch to have gariſoned our Port Towns; nor given up the Guidance of all our Affairs, as well as the Strength of the Nation, to their Diſ-

poſal, while at the ſame time the moſt honourable part of the Engliſh Army is, by the force of their Martial Law, ſent to be buried alive in Dutch Gariſons, or to be expoſed in the moſt hazardous places of their Battels, that theſe high and mighty Butterboxes may here lord it over us without controll. This is what we have brought our ſelves to; whereas if inſatiable Ambition and Revenge had not poſſeſſed the Souls of a ſcore of men, a Free Parliament (which the King was fully reſolved to have had, and to obtain which the Prince ſolemnly declared that he principally came) might have cloſed up all our Wounds, prevented all the Miſeries of an intailed War, and rendred theſe very Men famous in their Generations.

But we have lain under a greater Infatuation than ever yet befell a People: We have changed our Gold for Braſs, our Sterling Coin for the baſe Alloy of Dutch Stivers, and our lawfull King for a true Dutchland Prince, and muſt nevertheleſs give ſo unreaſonably to boot for him. By this time all that are converſant at Court find not only the difference of Mein and Acceſs betwixt them, but complain of a reſerved auſtereneſs in a Prince that our Engliſh Nobility and Gentry are unacquainted with; and yet we dread him, and ſtand aloof, as the Frogs did at the Log in the Fable.

But let us alone, and by that time we have ſeen the Prince of *Orange*'s Court as many Months in being as his uſurping Predeceſſor's, Old *Noll* and his Janizaries were Years, we ſhall find him, and his Dutch Crew, much more a grievance to the Nation, than they ever were. However, Is it not a ſad Reflection, that before an Atonement be made for the Bloud of King *Charles*, we are involving our ſelves in a freſh and greater Guilt? Is it not almoſt inſupportable, to ſee ſome of thoſe who rebelled againſt that martyred King, and others that have been in Conſpiracies or Rebellion ever ſince, together with ſuch as have always ſhown ill will to the Monarchy and Royal Line, now again not only countenanced and advanced, but by their Wiles and Over-reaches engaging a Party with them who ſuffered together with the Royal Family, even thoſe who in the Houſe of Commons Addreſs are noted for their Loyalty to Kings, the Members I mean of the Church of *England*, who now it ſeems, have no more effectual way to recommend themſelves to their new King, as true to the Principles of Loyalty, but by putting him in mind, that they deſerted his Royal Father? But that which lays the higheſt aggravation is, that there is a *Tu Brute* in the caſe,

caſe, and that King *James* may take up the Complaint of the Royal Prophet with no ſmall Exaggeration, *Pſal.* 55. *verſe* 12. *For it was not an Enemy that reproached me, then I could have born it*; but they were *my Friends*, whom I raiſed from nothing, they that did eat my Bread; a Nephew alſo, and a Son-in-law; nay, my very darling Children, that have thus rewarded me.

But you will ſay, all this we had better ſuffer, than have Popery brought in upon us; which if the King had not deſigned, and did not now attempt, he would not have fled to *France*, or by that and the Iriſh aid endeavour to regain his Right.

As to the firſt part I think I have already cleared the Point, and ſhewn what it was King *James* aimed at, and ſhall not need to repeat it.

But as to the ſecond, it is apparant, That the Wheel turned ſo faſt upon the King, being ſurrounded on all ſides with Treachery, that he had no place to retire to, where he might think himſelf ſafe, but by Sea. For had he ſtayed in *London*, he knew not whom to relie upon, the very *Mobile* being as dangerous to him, as the Prince's Army. To have gone into *Scotland* was not eaſie, ſince ſo great a Body was in Arms in the North, and the Princeſs of *Denmark* there to animate them againſt her Father: Neither was he then able to judge who would be true to him, either thoſe that went with him, or thoſe he was to take Sanctuary with; beſides the danger from the Purſuit and Interception.

Therefore no way was left to eſcape but by Sea, and his Fleet having deſerted him, he could not confide in them to carry him to *Scotland*. All Princes and States, beſides *France*, were then actually engaged againſt him; ſo that he had no liberty of Choice, but to adventure upon the neareſt place he could flie to: And we now ſee, that if the French King had not compaſſionated his Condition, and eſpouſed his Quarel, and *Ireland* had not been in a Condition to have afforded him a ſafe Retreat, he might have been compelled to have betaken himſelf to a Monaſtery, as ſome had the vanity to think he would be forced to.

But we now ſee, that Divine Providence (in Conſideration, we may truly ſuppoſe, of the unjuſtneſs of his ſufferings) hath not only with little Effuſion of blood given him the intire poſſeſſion of *Ireland*; but reſtored him to the Affections of the generality of his people in *England*, who now manifeſtly ſee by what Treachery and

unjuſt Calumnies he was outed of his Kingdoms, too late finding the unexpected Proceedings of the Prince of *Orange*, and the Convention, and who foreſeeing they ſhall never be in Peace till he be reſtored, will, I hope, endeavour to have a ſhare in the glory of the Work; which if they do, he will leſs need to relie ſolely upon the French or Iriſh Intereſt; though it is manifeſt, without their Aſſiſtance, in all humane probability, he cannot be able to protect ſuch as are true Proteſtants, and ſided not with thoſe that have wrought this Change.

Therefore we muſt reckon this amongſt the Artifices of his Enemies, who ſpreading the Report induſtriouſly, that he will endeavour to come in ſingly upon a Popiſh Intereſt; whereas we find by his Proclamations, and the Treatment he hath given the Iriſh Proteſtants, that he deſigns nothing more than to return by the love and affection of all his Subjects, to whom he will ſhew himſelf a mercifull Prince: Neither will he make it a War of Religion, but of Loyalty, although we take the ready way to unite all Roman Catholick Princes againſt us, and have ſo blemiſhed our Religion, by acting the very ſame things with an high and audacious hand, which we have ſo ſeverely condemned in others, that we have far outdone that in 1648. For though they were all Proteſtants that committed that horrid Regicide, yet the true Sons of the Church of *England* diſclaimed having any hand in it, and it was done when the King and all his Forces were ſubdued by downright Battels: But in our Caſe, the greateſt number of the Lords and Commons, as well as the Gentlemen in the Country, that either roſe in arms, or concurred in *Abdicating* King *James*, beſides the Biſhops and Clergy, have been and are Members of the Church of *England*; and the onely thing that can now diſtinguiſh them is, that the true Sons of the Church do declare they are ſorry for the Faults they have committed, beg pardon, promiſe an amendment, and ſubmit themſelves to their lawfull King and a Free Parliament, which was what all judicious, honeſt, and peaceable Men deſired; what the Prince himſelf made the end of his Expedition; and without which (ſummoned by King *James*) we ſhall in vain expect any ſettlement, either durable, or what will be of any comfort to us.

There are in the Kingdom a number of moſt honourable Peers, who either have abſented themſelves, or have not concurred with the reſt, or have done it upon the miſtaken Topicks of Self preſerva-

ſervation, Fear, or leaning upon the Judgments of others; and ſo many Gentlemen of Intereſt and Loyalty, zealous Proteſtants in *England*, though no Members of the Convention, who when the King ſummons a Parliament, will no doubt have Zeal and Intereſt enough with him to ſettle our Religion, and our Laws, ſo as there may be no danger of relapſing, either into a Common-wealth, or arbitrary Power, which are but two names for the ſame thing, of which two we have Experience, that the Exceſſes of that in Monarchs is leſs prejudicial to the Subjects, than the other under Repreſentatives: For that of Kings is redreſſable by Parliaments, and the Neceſſity Kings will allways have of them; but the other is a ſupreme Authority, without any check.

If the Obſtinacy of thoſe who think their Crimes are beyond Forgiveneſs, hinder not the Accomodation, I doubt not but the King will comply with whatever may conduce to the publick Good of his Subjects, and will certainly have a more affectionate Regard to the univerſal Happineſs of his People, than any foreign Prince can have, or the States of the United Provinces, or any mixture of Common-wealths-men, Calviniſts, or *Rye*-houſe Proteſtants; all which are manifeſt in his Royal Declaration.

As for the Men of Honour amongſt them, they know their Duty better than I can pretend to tell them, they know very well how juſtly and kindly the King hath always uſed them; they know he never tempted them to change their Religion, or allowed them to oppreſs the Country, whatever liberty ſome Rake-hells of the Army took to abuſe his Royal Kindneſs, and diſgrace his Service, who to ſupply their own extravagant Expences, put into their own Pockets the Pay of the poor Soldiers under their Commands, for which they allowed them underhand to ſharp upon the Country, and leave too often their Quarters unpaid, to the Diſhonour of the King, and the Ruine of many an honeſt Man: Nay, to add yet to their Infamy, they forced the Conſtables and Headboroughs by their Threats, to give them Certificates that they had paid their Quarters, and behaved themſelves well in them, when in truth they had done neither. This is ſo burning a ſhame that I cannot but take notice of it here, ſince it is notorious, that many who were maliciouſly averſe to the King's Intereſt, made uſe of this treacherous Expedient, to ruine him in the Affections of his People; and therefore were ſo far from doing their King or Countrey Juſtice, by endeavouring

vouring to rectifie the abuſe of which they were equally guilty, that they either quite conceal'd it from the King's Ear, or at leaſt ſo minced the matter by miſrepreſenting it, that the difficulty the poor Countrymen lay under of being heard or relieved in it, made the Remedy often prove worſe than the Diſeaſe.

I do not ſpeak this as a general Reflection on the Men of Arms whoſe Profeſſion I know is as honourable as it is neceſſary; beſides I have too much reſpect for thoſe Gentlemen who have ſerved their Royal Maſter well, than to lay any ſcandal at their doors, or charge them at random with the faults of ſome particular ill Men amongſt them; nay, I have yet Charity enough to believe, that (except the Confederates themſelves) thoſe who went over to the Prince of *Orange* were miſ-led from their Duty and Allegiance to the Crown, only by a blind zeal for their Religion, for they were told, and verily believed, that the Prince came over with no other Deſign than to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion, and thereby render the King's Reign more ſtable; otherwiſe they would have loſt their Right Hands, before they would have deſerted ſuch a Prince, if they had ſuſpected in the leaſt what hath been ſince tranſacted. I doubt not but the greateſt part of thoſe who ſerved the King are of this opinion, the King himſelf believes it of them; and if they demonſtrate it by returning to their Duty, and being as inſtrumental for his Reſtauration, as they unhappily were towards his Expulſion, he who hath ſo often pardoned his rebellious Enemies, will moſt amply do it now.

But methinks I hear ſome ſay, the Prince hath more Cunning and Policy than our King had: He diſplaceth or confines all that he in the leaſt ſuſpects; he mixeth his Dutch Troops ſo as all muſt be engaged alike, or be puniſhed by Martial Law; he ſendeth into *Holland* the prime Regiments of Guards, both Horſe and Foot, ſo that it will not be in their Power to help the King if they would.

I deſire ſuch to conſider that the Prince of *Orange* neither will nor can provide pay for them as the King did and will; that the Engliſh are yet enough to tie the Dutch Neck and Heels without fighting; that their Conſciences, Self-preſervation, and Honour, oblige them not to be Slaves to Strangers, and Traitors to our King; that they may be aſſured, aſſoon as ever King *William* thinks himſelf ſecure, there ſhall be well nigh a total Disbanding of them, whilſt the Dutch muſt have all the Government, or they ſent into Baniſhment

niſhment with the reſt of their Fellow-Soldiers, to be Mercenaries, and endure ſuch Hardſhips abroad, as their new Maſters ſhall think fit to put them to; who already abuſe them with the name of Cowards, or Traitors, Terms that ought to inflame the Souls of all true Engliſh Men to return to their Reputation Let ſuch ſee that though under the King they were made believe their Bodies were to fight againſt their Souls, yet now both Body and Soul is engaged to retrieve their Honour.

Nunquam ſera eſt ad bonos mores via.

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